THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 46. SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9th, 1918 Price One Penny

PEACE

"SHE LOVES ME!··SHE LOVES ME NOT!"

From an original painting by Jacques d'Or to the commission of H. Dennis Bradley.

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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GERMANY AND THE SPREAD OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

DEMANDS OF THE GERMAN STRIKERS.
(AS GIVEN BY "THE TIMES.")

(1) Peace on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the peoples to decide their own destinies.

(2) Active participation of the workers of all nations in the Peace negotiations.

(3) The requisitioning of the food supplies in order to obtain proper provisioning.

(4) Abolition of the "state of siege" and militarisation in industries.

(In the "Star" this is given as "Immediate abolition of martial law and restoration of the right of public meeting. Abolition of militarisation of War factories.")

(5) Liberation of all persons imprisoned for political offences.

(6) Democratisation of the whole fabric of Labour through the introduction of universal, secret and equal electoral franchise for the Prussian Diet.

(The "Star" says: "Votes for all men and women over 20." It also adds: "Fundamental democratisation of all State institutions in Germany.")

Whether the German strikes are intended to last till the above programme is accomplished, or whether the strikes are merely intended as a demonstration of Labour's power to last for a limited period only, there can be no doubt that they are animated by the spirit which created the Russian Revolution. The German strikers do not yet ask for Socialism, but they have adopted the Peace formula of their Russian comrades.

The German censorship and the fear entertained by the capitalists of all nations that the revolutionary movement amongst the workers may spread from country to country, and the desire of Allied war-mongers to establish the belief that the Germans will soon be beaten, make it necessary to receive all news of German happenings with extreme reserve. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the strike movement is extensive and widespread. The "Daily News" of February 1st reported that a million workers had struck. A Reuter telegram, published the same day, announced that in Berlin alone there were 700,000 strikers, of whom 580,000 were women. The "Times" of February 2nd reported great strikes of munition workers, transport workers, miners, and others in a large number of other towns and districts, seven of which had been placed under martial law.

Whether the German strikers aim at the establishment of Socialism, the creation of a workers' Government, or the mere attainment of certain fixed demands by the force of popular pressure, their task will be an infinitely more difficult one than that of the Russians, for the German autocracy and German capitalism are immensely more efficient and more firmly entrenched than were the equivalent forces in Russia. Nevertheless, as the Russians have clearly shown us, war between capitalist Governments creates the workers' opportunity of emancipation. It is significant to note that, whilst Press telegrams of February 1st stated that the military authorities of Hamburg had ordered the strikers there to return to work under threat, should they refuse, of being incorporated in the Army and made to work under military law, yet the telegrams of February 2nd reported that the number of strikers in Hamburg had grown to 40,000. In Berlin and other places the strikers' committees are said to have been dissolved, public meetings suppressed by the military authorities, and numbers of Socialists, including some Members of the German Parliament, arrested. It was even suggested by the "Kreuzzeitung" that the strikers should be deprived of their share of the food rations, a proposal which would, of course, result in food riots.

Reports as to how far those who have hitherto been the official leaders of the workers have participated in the strike movement are conflicting. The "Times" special correspondent stated that on Monday, January 28th, the leadership of part of the strike was placed in the hands of strikers' delegates and representatives of Majority and Minority Socialists, and at the same meeting the demands above set forth were adopted. The "Daily News" also reports that the Workers' Council, the Soviet of Berlin, formed to carry on the strike, comprised delegates of the strikers and six representatives of the two Socialist Parties. Yet the "Times" has since reported that the Majority Socialists are ignoring those of the strikers' demands which refer to foreign policy, and seeking to further only those connected with political reforms at home; also that they are endeavouring to check the strike movement from spreading amongst the bakers. It is not unlikely that the German Majority Socialists are still inclined, as are the British Labour leaders, to cling to the narrow nationalism, which is entirely dominated by the ideology of capitalism, and which has hitherto made them the subservient assistants of their Government in the prosecution of the War. The attitude of the Majority Socialists towards the strike has probably vacillated, and "Vorwaerts" itself announced that the Socialist Party had not advocated the strike, but would support it since it had become an accomplished fact. That cannot be called leadership! It is interesting to note that, according to the "Star" of January 30th, the editorial staff of "Vorwaerts," the daily organ of the Majority Socialists, declared against the strike, but the printers and compositors published a statement in the paper asserting their solidarity with the strikers. A day or two later the "Vorwaerts" was suppressed for publishing a proclamation calling for a general strike. This, too, was perhaps inserted by the compositors! But undoubtedly the "Vorwaerts" has given some support to the strikers, and has pointed out that their unrest has been caused by misgovernment at home, and by aggressive War aims to which the workers have not agreed. At the same time it has insisted that the German Socialists are not Bolsheviks. How much afraid of being suspected of the desire to establish Socialism in our own time some Socialists are!

A fine example has been set by the workers on several German capitalist newspapers, who struck work to prevent those newspapers appearing because "Vorwaerts" had been suppressed. When shall we see the example followed in this country?

That brings us to the all-important question: How does the German strike movement affect the workers of this country? The "Times" fantastically pretends that the strikes in Germany and Austria may possible be welcomed, or even engineered by the Governments of those countries in order to make the Allies believe that the Central Empires are no longer autocratically governed, but that political changes have occurred there which will "satisfy the ideals of the American democracy." Does the "Times" suggest, then, that the Kaiser and the capitalists will agree to a revolution in the hope of pleasing the American jingoes who, in prosecuting this War, as in everything else, are engaged in their accustomed chase after the Almighty Dollar? Lord Northcliffe constantly shows that he has a very low idea of the intelligence of his readers, but undoubtedly he is too well aware of the standpoint both of the German and American Governments to take his own absurd suggestion seriously. He has merely put it forward as an excuse for continuing to insist that the War shall be fought till Germany is stripped of her colonies and until she and her Allies are forced to concede all the other demands of Allied capitalists, and that there shall be no modification of this programme, even should a popular revolution shortly make Germany the most democratic country in the world. That such is the intention of Lord Northcliffe, and of those whose mouthpiece he is, no one who pays the least intelligent attention to their policy can doubt for an instant.

Since the outbreak of War the men who have supported it in this country have complained that the German workers were subservient to their Government, and have called on them to revolt. Foremost amongst these critical advisers, and most bitter, especially in blaming the German Socialists, have been Mr. Henderson and his official Labour colleagues. What are they now prepared to do to aid the German strikers in their struggle for a democratic Peace? The official Labour Leaders assume that the War Aims of the Allied Governments are now the same as those which they have induced the Labour Conferences to accept, though (in spite of the fact that official Labour's War Aims are open to serious criticism and are tainted by Government influence) even Lord Lansdowne has clearly shown his belief that the Allies' War Aims are still aggressively imperialistic.

An interesting light on the manner in which "Labour's War Aims" are viewed in influential capitalist circles is shed by the following letter of Sir Thomas Holdich, President of the Royal Geographical Society, written in answer to the Portuguese Geographical Society, which had expressed anxiety as to the future of Portuguese colonial possessions:—

The council take pleasure in declaring to you that they would have no sympathy whatever with any such scheme, and that they do not believe there exists in this country any serious opinion in favour of such a proposal. They would point out that the founding of such an international State would involve the surrender of practically all their tropical African Colonies not only by Great Britain and Portugal, but also by Italy and France. Italy has for more than a generation made heavy sacrifices on behalf of her possessions in Africa; and as to France, every one who knows that country would be certain that she would not surrender without a severe struggle what she proudly terms "les Indes noires." Such a loss might be imposed on her by a triumphant enemy, but not by her faithful Allies. I beg, therefore, that you will convey to your society our assurance that we attach no serious importance to the proposal to which you call our attention, which was made at a Socialist conference by Mr. Henderson after he had ceased to be a member of the British Government.

Yet, in spite of this, and a host of other such incidents, including the statements of Sir Edward Carson and many Ministers and ex-Ministers, Mr. Henderson has written to the Press to assure turbulent British workers that "The Governments have been impressed by the unity, clear-sightedness, and determination displayed by organised democracy."

Mr. Henderson has watched Conscription fastened upon the workers, and knows that Mr. Lloyd George has announced that Conscription will remain in force in this country until every other nation discards it; Mr. Henderson has seen the conscript workers returning mangled and broken from the War, and again and again denied even the paltry pension they were promised on enlistment; he has observed the profiteers reaping great fortunes out of the hunger of the people, whilst Government control has held back the workers from securing higher wages; as Labour's representative he has been ignominiously expelled from the Government; the Government's contemptuous refusal to grant passports to the Stockholm Conference is still fresh in his mind; yet he appeals to the workers not to wreck the "great triumph" which he asserts will be achieved by the "international working class in the field of diplomacy."

Mr. Henderson sat helpless in the Cabinet whilst Capital preyed on Labour; he was impotent when the Government prevented the Stockholm Conference. What will he do if the passports are again refused? He writes of "a moral ultimatum to the Governments from the organised democracy in all the belligerent countries"; but those who framed the secret treaties disclosed by the Bolsheviks pay no regard to moral considerations!

Something more drastic than a moral ultimatum will be needed to move them, Mr. Henderson! What is it to be? You do not object to the strike in Germany; you did not object to the strike in Russia, so long as it went no further than the abolition of the Czardom. How strange it is that the political strike, which is a weapon so greatly admired when used in other people's countries, is held to be so discreditable a weapon here! Even Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., one of the promoters of the Leeds Convention, and an original member of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council which emerged from it (where is that body now?), is reported, in a speech at the Nottingham Conference, as having issued a warning to the workers that any industrial upheaval in this country will prejudice the chances of securing a democratic Peace!

We cannot agree with those who still preach further patience to the rank and file workers who have patiently waited for three and a half years in vain for the Government, the Trade Union leaders, and the Labour Members of Parliament to end this war! The workers of this country have waited far too patiently, and far, far too long for others to take action! The Russian workers, who have taken matters into their own hands, and have been fighting unaided to maintain the Socialist Revolution and to extend its boundaries, are achieving magnificent successes. The capitalist Government of the Ukraine has now fallen, and a people's Soviet, like that which holds the reins at Petrograd, has taken its place. In the Brest negotiations the hands of the Russian Socialists will now be strengthened by Ukrainian comrades who will act with them. Their efforts will no longer be undermined by the secret negotiations which the Ukrainian reactionaries were conducting with the German delegates. The Revolutionary spirit, the "Bolshevist Bacillus," as the German capitalists angrily call it, has spread into Bessarabia, and in order to suppress the popular movement there the governing classes of Bessarabia have induced the Rumanian Government to lend them troops. The Russians have rallied to the support of the Bessarabians. The Socialist Revolution has also extended into Finland, and there, too, the Russians are helping the workers. A Social Democratic Government has been established at Helsingfors.

Under our eyes, with struggle and with sacrifice, the old order is passing; the new is painfully being born to take its place. And we here are asked to stand by idly and still to place our faith in the outworn past! The German workers are waking; they, too, are beginning to build the International Workers' Republic. It

(Continued on page 946, col. 3.)

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

SECRET DIPLOMACY UNMASKED

FULL TEXT OF SECRET TREATIES

The Russian Socialist Government (called the Bolshevik Government) has published the secret treaties, understandings, and bargains entered into by the Governments of the European Powers. When the Russian Socialist Government came into power its members discovered the documents in the Russian Government's archives. Some of the information published by the Russian Socialist Government has appeared in British newspapers, and is re-published hereunder; the headings are ours. This information should be carefully studied, as from it we may learn how the War came and why it is prolonged.

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," DEC. 12th.

RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT CLAIMS A FREE HAND IN THE PART OF PERSIA IT HAS SEIZED.

FRANCE AND BRITAIN LEFT FREE TO DESPOIL GERMANY ON WEST; RUSSIA FREE TO DESPOIL GERMANY AND AUSTRIA ON EAST.

Telegraphic summaries have recently appeared in the British Press of a number of secret documents of the Russian Foreign Office, relating to agreements with the Allies under the regime of the late Tsar and published by M. Trotsky. The full text of these documents has not hitherto been available, but as they have been printed in the Petrograd newspapers they cannot but be common knowledge to Germany or any other country interested. The "Isvestia" (the organ of the Soviet) and the "Pravda" (the organ of the Bolsheviks) of November 23rd have just reached this country. They contain the first instalment of the secret documents as made public by M. Trotsky. Below we give a translation of these according to the Russian version.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND PERSIA.

The following relate to Constantinople, the Straits, and Persia :—

I.

A confidential telegram of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Paris, March 5th, 1915. No. 1,226 :—

On February 23rd (March 8th) the French Ambassador, on behalf of his Government, announced to me that France was prepared to take up a most favourable attitude in the matter of realisation of our desires as set out in my telegram to you, No. 937, in respect of the Straits and Constantinople, for which I charged you to tender Delcassé my gratitude.

In his conversations with you, Delcassé had previously more than once given his assurance that we could rely on the sympathy of France, and only referred to the need of elucidating the question of the attitude of England, from whom he feared some objections, before he could give us a more definite assurance in the above sense. Now the British Government has given its complete consent in writing to the annexation by Russia of the Straits and Constantinople within the limits indicated by us, and only demanded security for its economic interests and a similar benevolent attitude on our part towards the political aspirations of England in other parts.

For me, personally, filled as I am with most complete confidence in Delcassé, the assurance received from him is quite sufficient, but the Imperial Government would desire a more definite pronouncement of France's assent to the complete satisfaction of our desires, similar to that made by the British Government.

(Signed) SAZONOFF.

II.

Confidential telegram of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Ambassador in Paris (? London), March 7th, 1915. No. 1,265 :—

Referring to the memorandum of the British Government (? Embassy) here of March 12th, will you please express to Grey the profound gratitude of the Imperial Government for the complete and final assent of Great Britain to the solution of the question of the Straits and Constantinople, in accordance with Russia's desires. The Imperial Government fully appreciates the sentiments of the British Government and feels certain that a sincere recognition of mutual interests will secure for ever the firm friendship between Russia and Great Britain.

Having already given its promise respecting the conditions of trade in the Straits and Constantinople, the Imperial Government sees no objection to confirming its assent to the establishment (1) of free transit through Constantinople for all goods not proceeding from or proceeding to Russia, and (2) free passage through the Straits for merchant vessels.

RUSSIA UNDERTAKES TO BRIBE OTHER STATES TO ASSIST.

In order to facilitate the breaking through of the Dardanelles undertaken by the Allies, the Imperial Government is prepared to co-operate in inducing those States whose help is considered useful by Great Britain and France to join in the undertaking on reasonable terms.

The Imperial Government completely shares the view of the British Government that the holy Moslem places must also in future remain under an independent Moslem rule. It is desirable to elucidate at once whether it is contemplated to leave those places under the rule of Turkey, the Sultan retaining the title of Caliph, or to create new independent States, since the Imperial Government would only be able to formulate its desires in accordance with one or other of these assumptions. On its part the Imperial Government would regard the separation of the Caliphate from Turkey as very desirable. Of course the freedom of pilgrimage must be completely secured.

RUSSIA AGREES THAT BRITAIN SHALL HAVE REMAINDER OF PERSIA.

The Imperial Government confirms its assent to the inclusion of the neutral zone of Persia in the British sphere of influence. At the same time, however, it regards it as just to stipulate that the districts adjoining the cities of Ispahan and Yezd, forming with them one inseparable whole, should be secured for Russia in view of the Russian interests which have arisen there. The neutral zone now forms a wedge between the Russian and Afghan frontiers, and comes up to the very frontier line of Russia at Tulgager. Hence a portion of this wedge will have to be annexed to the Russian sphere of influence. Of essential importance to the Imperial Government is the question of railway construction in the neutral zone, which will require further amicable discussion.

The Imperial Government expects that in future its full liberty of action will be recognised in the sphere of influence allotted to it, coupled in particular with the right of preferentially developing in that sphere its financial and economic policies.

Lastly, the Imperial Government considers it desirable simultaneously to solve also the problems in Northern Afghanistan adjoining Russia in the sense of the wishes expressed on the subject by the Imperial Ministry in the course of the negotiations last year.

(Signed) SAZONOFF.

FRONTIERS EAST AND WEST.

The following refers to the redrawing of the Germanic frontiers east and west and to the questions of Scandinavia, Poland, Rumania, and China.

A confidential telegram to the Ambassador in Paris :—

Petrograd, February 24th, 1917. No. 948.

Please refer to my telegram No. 6063, 1915. At the forthcoming Conference you may be guided by the following general principles :—

The political agreements concluded between the Allies during the war must remain intact, and are not subject to revision. They include the agreement with France and England on Constantinople, the Straits, Syria, and Asia Minor, and also the London Treaty with Italy. All suggestions for the future delimitation of Central Europe are at present premature, but in general one must bear in mind that we are prepared to allow France and England complete freedom in drawing up the western frontiers of Germany, in the expectation that the Allies on their part would allow us equal freedom in drawing up our frontiers with Germany and Austria.

NO POLISH FREEDOM!

It is particularly necessary to insist on the exclusion of the Polish question from the subjects of international discussion and on the elimination of all attempts to place the future of Poland under the guarantee and the control of the Powers.

POSSIBILITY OF WAR WITH SWEDEN.

With regard to the Scandinavian States, it is necessary to endeavour to keep back Sweden from any action hostile to us, and at the same time to examine betimes measures for attracting Norway on our side in case it should prove impossible to prevent a war with Sweden.

Rumania has already been offered all the political advantages which could induce her to take up arms, and therefore it would be perfectly futile to search for new baits in this respect.

TO PUSH GERMANY OUT OF THE CHINESE MARKET.

The question of pushing out the Germans from the Chinese market is of very great importance, but its solution is impossible without the participation of Japan. It is preferable to examine it at the Economic Conference, where the representatives of Japan will be present. This does not exclude the desirability of a preliminary exchange of views on the subject between Russia and England by diplomatic means.

(Signed) SAZONOFF.

FRANCE AND THE RHINE.

The following relate to the proposals by a former French Government regarding Alsace-Lorraine and the left bank of the Rhine :—

I.

GERMANY TO BE PUSHED BACK BEHIND THE RHINE.

A confidential telegram to the Ambassador in Paris :—

Petrograd, January 30th, 1917. No. 502.

Copy to London confidentially. At an audience with the Most High M. Doumergue submitted to the Emperor the desire of France to secure for herself at the end of the present war the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine and a special position in the valley of the River Saar as well as to attain the political separation from Germany of her trans-Rhenish districts and their organisation on a separate basis in order that in future the River Rhine might form a permanent strategical frontier against a Germanic invasion. Doumergue expressed the hope that the Imperial Government would not refuse immediately to draw up its assent to these suggestions in a formal manner.

His Imperial Majesty was pleased to agree to this in principle, in consequence of which I requested Doumergue, after communicating with his Government, to let me have the draft of an agreement, which would then be given a formal sanction by an exchange of Notes between the French Ambassador and myself.

Proceeding thus to meet the wishes of our ally, I nevertheless consider it my duty to recall the standpoint put forward by the Imperial Government in the telegram of February 24th, 1916, No. 948, to the effect that, "while allowing France and England complete liberty in delimiting the western frontiers of Germany, we expect that the Allies on their part will give us equal liberty in delimiting out frontiers with Germany and Austro-Hungary." Hence the impending exchange of Notes on the question raised by Doumergue will justify us in asking the French Government simultaneously to confirm its assent to allowing Russia freedom of action in drawing up her future frontiers in the west. Exact data on the question will be supplied by us in due course to the French Cabinet.

In addition we deem it necessary to stipulate for the assent of France to the removal at the termination of the War of the disqualifications resting on the Aland Islands. Please explain the above to Briand and wire the results.

(Signed) POKROVSKY.

II.

A telegram from the Ambassador in Paris :—

Copy to London. Referring to your telegram No. 507 confidentially, I immediately communicated in writing its contents to Briand, who told me that he would not fail to give me an official reply of the French Government, but that he could at once declare, on his own behalf, that the satisfaction of the wishes contained in your telegram will meet with no difficulties.

(Signed) ISVOLSKY.

III.

FIGHTING FOR COAL AND IRON.

Copy of a Note of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of February 1st (14th), 1917, No. 26, addressed to the French Ambassador in Petrograd :—

In your Note of to-day's date your Excellency was good enough to inform the Imperial Government that the Government of the Republic was contemplating the inclusion in the terms of peace to be offered to Germany the following demands and guarantees of a territorial nature :—

1. Alsace-Lorraine to be restored to France.

2. The frontiers are to be extended at least up to the limits of the former principality of Lorraine, and are to be drawn up at the discretion of the French Government so as to provide for the strategical needs and for the inclusion in French territory of the entire iron district of Lorraine and of the entire coal district of the Saar valley.

3. The rest of the territories situated on the left bank of the Rhine which now form part of the German Empire are to be entirely separated from Germany and freed from all political and economic dependence upon her.

4. The territories of the left bank of the Rhine outside French territory are to be constituted an autonomous and neutral State, and are to be occupied by French troops until such time as the enemy States have completely satisfied all the conditions and guarantees indicated in the treaty of peace.

Your Excellency stated that the Government of the Republic would be happy to be able to rely upon the support of the Imperial Government for the carrying out of its plans. By order of his Imperial Majesty, my most august master, I have the honour, in the name of the Russian Government, to inform your Excellency by the present Note that the Government of the Republic may rely upon the support of the Imperial Government for the carrying out of its plans as set out above.

IV.

A telegram from the Ambassador in Paris, February 26th (March 11th), 1917, No. 168 :—

See my reply to telegram No. 167, No. 2. The Government of the French Republic, anxious to confirm the importance of the treaties concluded with the Russian Government in 1916 for the settlement on the termination of the war of the question of Constantinople and the Straits in accordance with Russia's aspirations, anxious, on the other hand, to secure for its ally in military and industrial respects all the guarantees desirable for the safety and the economic development of the Empire, recognises Russia's complete liberty in establishing her western frontiers.

(Signed) ISVOLSKY.

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN,"
November 28th, 1917.

CUTTING UP TURKEY IN ASIA.

Petrograd, Sunday, Dec. 25th.

Further diplomatic documents on the relations between Russia and the Allies are published to-day. A memorandum dated February 21st, 1917, sets forth an agreement between Russia, France, and England in the spring of 1916 over Asiatic Turkey. Russia receives in Armenia the Erzerum, Trebizond, Bitlis, and Van vilayets and Kurdistan down to the line Sert-Amadia on the Persian frontier. France receives the sea-board of Syria, the Adana vilayet, and Lesser Armenia to the line Aintab-Mardin on the south and Kaisarieh-Kharput on the north. England receives Lower Mesopotamia and special rights in the Syrian ports Haifa and Jaffa. Between the English and French zones are to be independent Arabian States. Alexandretta is to be a free port and Palestine a protectorate under Russia, France, and England.

TO ANNEX THE REST OF PERSIA.

England receives the neutral zone in Persia except Isphahan and Yezd, which goes with the Russian sphere.

BRIBES TO RUMANIA: HER COLLAPSE.

Another document signed by M. Polivanoff, a former War Minister, and dated November 7th, 1916, concerning Rumania, states that a Russo-Rumanian military-political convention was concluded in August, 1916, giving the latter Bukovina, the Banat, and Transylvania. Polivanoff states that in the event of Rumania's success she becomes a powerful country with a population of thirteen millions, that she will hardly remain friendly to Russia over Bessarabia, and will lessen Russia's influence in the Balkans. "In view of this the collapse of Greater Rumania is an idea not against the interests of Russia, and the present condition of Rumania must be used to strengthen those ties by which she is compulsorily bound to us."

Another communication by Terestchenko to the Ambassadors abroad dated October 9th, 1917, states that the English, French, and Italian Ambassadors in Petrograd asked to see M. Kerensky recently and expressed the fear that the state of Russia would force the public opinion of their countries to demand an exact account for the material assistance given. It was desirable therefore for the Russian Government to take measures to establish discipline in the country and to raise a true military spirit in the army. Another telegram of the same date from M. Terestchenko to the Ambassador at Washington states that this action of the British, French, and Italian Ambassadors created a painful impression on the Russian Government, and he thanked the American Government for not taking part in it.

—M. Philips Price.

A SUGGESTED RUSSO-GERMAN AGREEMENT.

(From our Correspondent.)

Petrograd, Monday, Nov. 26th.

There is published in to-day's "Isvestia" a scheme of agreement between Russia and Germany, dated May 4th, 1909, drawn up by M. Tcharikoff, and presented to the late Emperor. Clause 1 states that the strained Austro-Serbian relations must not react on Russo-German relations. In clause 2 Germany associates herself with the Austro-Russian Agreement of 1897. By clause 3 Germany guarantees the fulfilment by Austria of her undertaking not to acquire further territory in the Balkans. Failing this, Germany will not consider the advance of Russian troops into Austria a casus fœderis. Clause 4 states that if the Berlin Treaty comes up for revision Ger-

(Continued on next page.)

SECRET TREATIES (Continued)

many will give Russia diplomatic assistance to secure a decision of the question of the Straits in a sense favourable to Russia. By clause 5 Germany agrees to the construction of a Danube-Adriatic railway. Under clause 6 Germany recognises Russia's right to come out of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 concerning Persia. There is a secret clause that in the event of England's attack on Germany Russia remains neutral.

—M. Philips Price.

ITALY AND THE ENTENTE.

Petrograd, Sunday, Nov. 25th.

The publication of the "secret" diplomatic papers continues in the bulletin of the Soviets and in the "Pravda," the organ of the Ministry. An undated document deals with the circumstances leading to the Russo-Italian Agreement of 1915, preparatory to the withdrawal of Italy from the Triple Alliance and her adhesion to the Entente.

Negotiations began in London early in March on the initiative of the Marquis Imperiali. Complications followed owing to the efforts of Germany to induce Austria to make concessions to Italy as well as owing to the clash of interests among the negotiating Powers. France and Russia respectively considered the demands of Italy on the west and the east sides of the Adriatic to be excessive. Russia defended Jugo-Slav interests and resisted step by step the efforts of Italy to increase her portion of the coast and to obtain the neutralisation of that assigned to Serbia. Eventually the Convention was signed in London on April 26th, and on the very day of the signature Russia succeeded in obtaining some concessions for Serbia and Montenegro.

CONFERENCE OF FINANCIERS.

On November 26th, 1917, the "Manchester Guardian" published telegrams dated November 24th from the Telegraph Agency, acting under the direction of the Maximalists, which summarised the information which was later given in detail as above. Also the following secret telegram from the Russian Ambassador at Berne announcing that some big financiers were conferring in Switzerland:—

The British deny having participated in the conference. Nevertheless, a director of ——— Bank (here the name of a leading London bank is given) arrived at Geneva on September 2nd, 1917. Nothing definite is known so far as Russia is concerned. It appears, however, that it was suggested that the Central Powers might obtain certain compensations in the East, and that the German participants in the conferences insisted on the cession of the Baltic provinces and the independence of Finland.

Note.—With reference to the concluding passage of the above telegram, Reuter's Agency points out that the following statement was issued by the Foreign Office on September 15th:—

Reports have appeared in the British and neutral press to the effect that a meeting of financiers recently took place in Switzerland to consider the effects of the war on international finance and to discuss terms of peace. It is said that British subjects entered into relations with subjects of enemy Powers for this purpose. His Majesty's Government have no knowledge of any such meeting, and no passports have been issued to British subjects for this or any similar purpose. In the event of any information reaching the Government that there has been any meeting with such an object between enemy subjects and British subjects the appropriate legal proceedings will be taken to punish the offenders.

"THE TIMES," NOVEMBER 26th, 1917.

"The Times" adds in regard to the financiers' conference, quoting, like the "Guardian," from a telegram of the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, dated September 17th, 1917:—

"The restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France and the satisfaction of Italy were laid down as the basis of Peace. Nothing was decided in regard to Russia, but the idea was expressed that the Central Powers might obtain compensation on their Eastern frontiers, the Germans insisting on the annexation of the Baltic provinces and the independence of Finland."

ITALY'S REWARD.

On December 1st the "Manchester Guardian" published the following from Petrograd:—

"A treaty between the Allies and Italy is published to-day, according to which Italy receives the Trentino, South Tyrol, Trieste, Istria, Dalmatia, with the neutral zone between the latter region and Serbia. In the south the Adriatic region from the river Planka to the Drina goes to Serbia. Italy receives Vallona and the hinterland. Italy agrees not to oppose England, France and Russia in the partition of Albania between Montenegro and Serbia, if such be deemed desirable. Italy receives Dodecanese and Adalia in Asiatic Turkey.

In the event of British-French colonial expansion in Africa at the expense of Germany, Italy receives compensation in the right to expand the territory to Erythræa, Somaliland, Libya, into the hinterland. England, France and Russia undertake to support Italy against the Holy See if the latter attempts to take steps towards Peace."

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," DEC. 21st.

Petrograd, Wednesday.

A secret treaty has been discovered here at the Foreign Office between Russia and Japan, signed by M. Sazonoff and the Japanese Ambassador in Petrograd on July 3rd, 1916.

Article 1 recognises that it is in the interests of both Powers to keep China free from the influence of a third Power hostile to Japan and Russia, and sanctions common action with this object.

Article 2 states that in the event of a third Power taking hostile action Russia and Japan agree to act together, and not to conclude Peace except in common.

Article 3 defines measures for common action.

Article 4 states that neither of the contracting parties is bound by this treaty unless assured that the other party has done the utmost to settle the conflict with the third Power amicably.

Article 5 states that the treaty remains in force till July 14th, 1921.

M. Philips Price.

[If this Treaty had been carried out it would have meant the economic domination of China by Russia and Japan. Since Russia withdrew a similar arrangement has been made by Japan and America.]

THE ITALIAN TREATY

The "Manchester Guardian" also published the following "secret document" disclosed by the Bolsheviks. It appeared in "Isvestia" on November 28th, and represents the pledges made by Britain, France, and Russia in order to induce Italy to enter the War on their side. The Italian Capitalist newspapers are plainly showing by their comments on the international situation their determination that the bargain shall be kept. They complain that the Allies display a "tenderness" towards Austria-Hungary, and they allege, as the "Corriere della Sera" puts it, that this is because "the material and ideal interests of America, France, and England depend in great part on the result of the War with Germany, and not with Austria."

HOW ITALY WAS BRIBED

Article 1.—A military convention is to be concluded without delay between the General Staffs of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy to determine the minimum number of troops which Russia would have to throw against Austria-Hungary if the latter should want to concentrate all her forces against Italy. Russia should decide mainly to attack Germany. Similarly the said convention is to regulate the questions relating to armistices, in so far as such armistices form an essential part of the competence of the Supreme Army Command.

Article 2.—On her part Italy undertakes by all means at her disposal to conduct the campaign in union with France, Great Britain, and Russia against all the Powers at war with them.

Article 3.—The naval forces of France and Great Britain are to render uninterrupted and active assistance to Italy until such time as the navy of Austria has been destroyed or peace has been concluded. A naval convention is to be concluded without delay between Austria, France, Great Britain, and Italy.

TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS.

Article 4.—By the future treaty of peace Italy is to receive the district of Trentino (Austria); the entire Southern Tyrol (Austria), up to its natural geographical frontier, which is the Brenner Pass; the city and district of Trieste (Austria); the country of Gorizia and Gradisca; the entire Istria up to Quarmer, including Volosca and the Istrian islands of Cherso and Lussina, as well as the smaller islands of Plavnika, Unia, Canidoli, Palazznoli, S. Petri dei Nembi, Asinello, and Gruica, with the neighbouring islets.

[Note 1.—Here follow the details of the frontier delimitation.]

Article 5.—Italy will likewise receive the province of Dalmatia (Austria) in its present frontiers, including Lisserica and Trebigne (Trebanj), in the north, and all the country in the south up to a line drawn from the coast, at the promontory of Planka, eastwards along the watershed in such a way as to include in the Italian possessions all the valleys of the rivers flowing into the Sebenico —viz., Cikola, Kerka, and Buotisnica, with all their affluents. Italy will likewise obtain all the islands situated to the north and west of the coasts of Dalmatia, beginning with Fremuda, Selve, Ulbo, Skerda, Maoh, Pago, and Puntadura, and further north, and down to Melda in the south, with the inclusion of the islands of S. Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Torcola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta with all the adjacent rocks and islets, as well as Pelagosa, but without the islands of Zirona Grande and Zirona Piccola, Bua, Solta, and Brazza.

The following are to be neutralised:—(1) The entire coast from Planka, in the north, to the southern extremity of the Sabbioncello peninsula, including the last-named peninsula in its entirety; (2) the part of the littoral from a point ten versts south of the promontory of Ragusa Vecchia (Austrian) to the Viosa (Vojuzza) River, so as to include in the neutralised zone the entire gulf of Cattaro, with its ports of Antivari, Dulcigno, San Giovanni di Medua, and Durazzo; the rights of Montenegro, arising from the declarations exchanged by the two contracting parties as far back as April and May, 1909, remaining intact. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that those rights were guaranteed to Montenegro within her present frontiers, they are not to be extended to those territories and ports which may eventually be given to Montenegro. Thus, none of the ports of the littoral now belonging to Montenegro are to be neutralised at any future time. On the other hand, the disqualifications affecting Antivari, to which Montenegro herself agreed in 1909, are to remain in force; (3) lastly, all the islands which are not annexed to Italy.

Note 2.—The following territories on the Adriatic will be included by the Powers of the Quadruple Entente in Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro:—In the north of the Adriatic, the entire coast from Volosco Bay, on the border of Istria (Austrian) to the northern frontier of Dalmatia, including the entire coast of Croatia, the port of Fiume and the small ports of Novi and Carlopago, and also the islands of Veglia, Perviccio, Gregorio Coli, and Arbe, and in the South of the Adriatic where Serbia and Montenegro have interests, the entire coast from Planka up to the River Drin, with the chief ports of Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigo, and San Giovanni di Medua, with the islands of Zirona Grande, Zirona Piccola, Bua, Solta, Brazza, Jaklian and Calamotta.

The Port of Durazzo (Turkish) may be given to the independent Mohammedan State of Albania.

Article 6.—Italy will receive in absolute property Valona, the islands of Sasseno, and as much territory as would be required to secure their military safety—approximately between the River Vojazza in the north and in the east down to the borders of the Chimara district in the south.

Article 7.—Italy, having received Trentino and Istria in accordance with article 4 and Dalmatia and the Adriatic islands in accordance with article 5, and the Gulf of Valona, is not, in case of the creation of a small autonomous and neutralised State in Albania, to resist the possible desire of France, Great Britain, and Russia to distribute among Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece the northern and southern parts of Albania. The latter's southern littoral from the frontier of the Italian district of Valona to Capo Stylos is to be neutralised. Italy is to have the right to conduct foreign relations with Albania; at any rate, Italy is to agree to the inclusion in Albania of a territory large enough to allow her frontiers to touch those of Greece and Serbia west of Ochrida Lake.

Article 8.—Italy will obtain all the Twelve Islands (Dodecanese) now occupied by her, in full possession.

THE PARTITION OF TURKEY.

Article 9.—France, Great Britain, and Russia admit in principle the fact of Italy's interest in the maintenance of political balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her rights, in case of a partition of Turkey, to a share, equal to theirs, in the basin of the Mediterranean—viz., in that part of it which adjoins the province of Adalia (Turkey) in which Italy has already acquired special rights and interests defined in the Italo-British Convention. The zone which is to be made Italy's property is to be more precisely defined in due course in conformity with the vital interests of France and Great Britain. Italy's interests will likewise be taken into consideration in case the Powers should also maintain the territorial integrity of Asiatic Turkey for some future period of time, and if they should only proceed to establish among themselves spheres of influence. In case France, Great Britain, and Russia should, in the course of the present war, occupy any districts of Asiatic Turkey, the entire territory adjacent to Adalia and defined more precisely below (?) is to be left to Italy, who reserves her right to occupy it.

Article 10.—In Libya (Egypt) Italy is to enjoy all those rights and privileges which now belong to the Sultan in virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne.

Article 11.—Italy is to get a share in the war indemnity corresponding to the magnitude of her sacrifices and efforts.

Article 12.—Italy adheres to the declaration made by France, England, and Russia about leaving Arabia and the holy Moslem places in the hands of an independent Moslem Power.

EXPANSION IN AFRICA.

Article 13.—Should France and Great Britain extend their colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany they will admit in principle Italy's right to demand certain compensation by way of an extension of her possessions in Erythræa, Somaliland, and Libya and the colonial areas adjoining French and British colonies.

Article 14.—Great Britain undertakes to facilitate for Italy the immediate flotation on the London market of a loan on advantageous terms to the amount of not less than £50,000,000.

Article 15.—France, Great Britain and Russia pledge themselves to support Italy in not allowing the representatives of the Holy See to undertake any diplomatic steps having for their object the conclusion of peace or the settlement of questions connected with the present war.

Article 16.—The present treaty is to be kept secret. As regards Italy's adhesion to the Declaration of September 5th, 1914, this Declaration alone will be published immediately on the declaration of war by, or against Italy.

THE COMPACT.

France, Great Britain and Russia express their complete agreement with the present memorandum submitted to them by the Italian Government. In respect of Articles 1, 2, and 3, the present memorandum, regarding the co-ordination of the military and naval operations of all the four Powers, Italy declares that she will actively intervene at an earliest possible date, and, at any rate, not later than one month after the signature of the present document by the contracting parties.

The undersigned have confirmed by hand and seal the present instrument in London, in four copies. April 26th, 1915.

Signed: GREY, CAMBON, IMPERIALI, BENCKENDORF.

ASIATIC TURKEY: FULL TEXT OF ALLIES' AGREEMENT WITH EX-CZAR

Below is the full text, as published in the "Isvestia" of November 24th, of the memorandum of an agreement arrived at between Britain, France, and Russia during the régime of the ex-Czar with regard to zones of influence and territorial acquisitions in Asiatic Turkey. The memorandum was made public by M. Trotsky as having been found among the secret papers of the Russian Foreign Office. A summary telegraphed by our correspondent in Petrograd appeared in the "Manchester Guardian" of November 28th. The memorandum is dated March 6th, 1917, and the following is a full translation:—

As a result of negotiations which took place in London and Petrograd in the spring of 1916, the allied British, French, and Russian Governments came to an agreement as regards the future delimitation of their respective zones of influence and territorial acquisitions in Asiatic Turkey, as well as the formation in Arabia of an independent Arab State, or a federation of Arab States. The general principles of the agreement are as follows:—

Russia obtains the provinces of Erzerum, Trebizond, Van, and Bitlis, as well as territory in the southern part of Kurdistan along the line Mush-Sert-Ibn-Omar-Amadjie-Persian frontier. The limit of Russian acquisitions on the Black Sea coast would be fixed later on at a point lying west of Trebizond.

France obtains the coastal strip of Syria, the vilayet of Adana, and a territory bounded on the south by a line Aintab-Mardin to the future Russian frontier, and on the north by a line Ala-Dagh-Zara-Egin-Kharput.

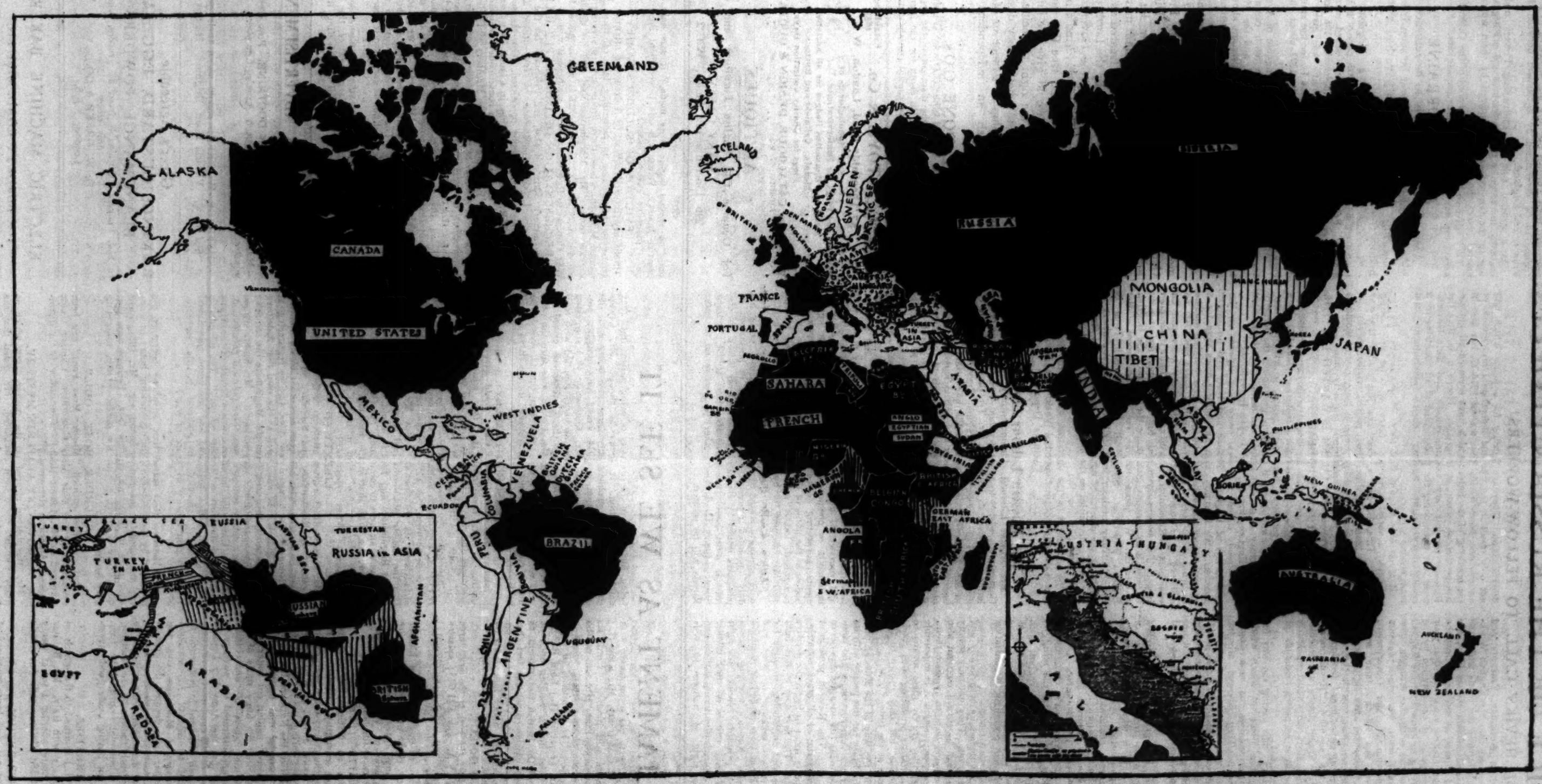
Great Britain obtains the southern part of Mesopotamia, with Bagdad, and stipulates for herself in Syria the ports of Haifa and Akka.

By agreement between France and England the zone between the French and British territories forms a confederation of Arab States, or one independent Arab State, the zones of influence in which are determined at the same time.

Alexandretta is proclaimed a free port.

With a view to securing the religious interests of the Entente Powers, Palestine, with the holy places, is

(Concluded on page 944, col. 3.



■ *Indicates territory in pre-War possession of Allies. Dotted portions denote the Central Powers.*
▥ *Indicates territory which the secret treaties would give to the Allies. We have not been able to give this fully in some cases, especially that of Italy, as the boundaries are not precisely indicated in the treaties. Reading them in conjunction with the speeches of Allied statesmen, we are of opinion that the whole of Turkey would be absorbed by the Allies if the treaties were carried.*

[SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT PRESENTED WITH THE "WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT," SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9TH.]

THE VOICE OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

BOLSHEVIKS' CALL TO FELLOW-WORKERS!

The Russian Government of Workmen, Peasants and Soldiers has learned with pleasure that the English Workmen's press is continuing intelligently the battle which the Russian workmen, peasants and soldiers in one body, are waging against the might of capital, as well as against the prolongation of the world war, and we are gratified at your refusing to believe in the campaign of calumny led by the capitalist press. It is gratifying to know that the English Socialist Parties fully sympathise with the struggle now maintained by the masses of Russian workmen, peasants and soldiers, under the leadership of their Government. The Russian working-classes and soldiers have seized authority, having convinced themselves after eight months' of continual fighting, that by an alliance with the upper classes there is no hope of getting either bread, freedom, or peace. Under cover of the so-called "Revolutionary Government," composed of the upper classes and middle-class Socialists, Russia's capitalists have unscrupulously screwed up the prices of the most necessary foodstuffs of the common people.

They tried to cripple industry, thus paving the way for anarchy, and by exploiting the discontent which would have resulted, they hoped to mobilise the undeveloped masses against the workmen. They allowed all the bureaucratic elements of the Czar to retain their position, so that although the Czar had been deposed, Czardom nevertheless remained. They took no steps to bring about the realisation of the people's self-government. They did not raise a finger to bring the people nearer to the long-desired peace. . . . .

On the 6th of November the Petrograd garrison marched out to take the authority away from the hands of Kerensky's Government. . . . With whole-hearted energy it supported the workers' organisation. The extraordinary Congress of Peasants' delegates acknowledged the new Government by an overwhelming majority. Its Central Committee joined that of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, and at present seven representatives of the peasantry have seats in the Workmen's Government. Naturally the bourgeoisie does not give up the struggle.

The Russian working-classes will not be content with the establishment of democracy, but will use democracy as a means for accomplishing all the stages necessary to lead Russia step by step to an efficient Socialistic organisation of production.

The workmen's organisations undertake both locally and centrally the control of production. They not only specify under what conditions goods shall be turned out, but also what goods shall be produced and how to produce them. Without at once abolishing property, which it is impossible to accomplish at one stroke, they try by these means to avoid the possibility of the capitalists producing such goods as are not needed by the people, but only ensure to the capitalists the biggest dividends at the time. . . .

Gigantic difficulties stand in the way of the Russian proletariat. It must build up the State for the people with its young hands, and must alter the construction of the complicated apparatus of capital, using its meagre experience in the art of organisation. . . . The Russian proletariat directs its gaze upon the proletariat of all other countries where capital reigns, and expects them to begin the decisive battle against their exploiters. The first step to this fight lies in starting an energetic and unflinching struggle for peace. It is impossible to waste millions of lives and milliards of money, at the same time to deliver mankind from the yoke of the robbers. Russia's working classes with the support of millions of peasants, conduct this fight with all their energy. They have written on their banner of peace the stipulation of a peace without annexations and indemnities, based on the right of nations to self-determination. They are fighting for a peace which will not only result in the free and independent resurrection of nations cast down during this war of 1914-17, but also in the breaking of the fetters which have enslaved all nations irrespective of colour or language. Hence it is that the Russian revolutionary working-classes and their Government are summoning the proletarians of all countries to a revolutionary fight against their Governments and bourgeoisie.

It is on this account that they address them thus:—"Without a social revolution, there will be no lasting peace." This, of course, does not imply that the war will last until Socialism has proved victorious in all countries. Should we delay peace so long, capital would in the meantime let the proletarians mutually annihilate each other. Moreover, SOCIALISM IS WANTED FOR THE LIVING, NOT FOR THE DEAD. . . . .

Just as they are ready to defend with the last drop of blood the Russia of the Socialist Revolution, should German Imperialism refuse an honourable peace, so will they conclude a separate peace, if Germany guarantees the security of democracy, a general peace then being made impossible by the English, French, and Italian Imperialists.

As already stated, a general peace now depends on the proletariats of England, France and Italy and no longer upon us. We fervently wish for nothing more than for a general peace, and have left and shall leave nothing undone to bring about such. However, such a peace can only be achieved by a most vigorous revolutionary movement on your part. Remember, it will not be our fault if German Imperialism swoops down with full force upon unfortunate France, if its cannons mow down the youth of the English proletariat. We appeal to you, the advance guard of the English proletariat. Strain all your forces! Time is flying! May the hour soon strike in which you assist in attaining the charter of nations, the peace without annexations and indemnities on the basis of the right of all peoples to self-determination, the peace that will set free the forces of the proletariat for the victorious struggle for Socialism.

(Ex. Committee of the Council of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.)

The Russian Labour Government

Mr. Maxim Litvinoff, Plenipotentiary of the Russian Government, wishes to make it public that, by virtue of the letters of credentials issued by Mr. Trotsky in the name of the Council of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates to Mr. Maxim Litvinoff as such Plenipotentiary, all members of the Russian Embassy and of the Russian Government Committee and generally all officials of the Russian Republic, residing at present in this country, are ordered to hand over to him all affairs, documents and State funds, entrusted to them.

As a number of Russian officials, mostly appointed by the ex-Czar, have failed to recognise the authority of the present Government or to submit to its orders, and seek to continue to deal with State funds and property of the said Government, the public in general and banking institutions and commercial firms in particular, are warned that no documents or cheques signed by, or contracts or agreements, purporting to be entered into by any persons or bodies in the name of the Russian Republic, will be valid or recognised, unless sanctioned and counter-signed by the said Mr. Litvinoff, or by persons duly authorised by him.

All persons desiring to go to Russia must be provided with passports issued by the said Mr. Litvinoff, or by his duly appointed representatives and those in possession of passports issued by the late Consul-General before his dismissal, must have these passports vised at 82 Victoria Street —hours 11—1, 4—5—otherwise permission to enter Russia will be refused.

SECRET TREATIES (continued from page 942).

separated from Turkish territory and subjected to a special regime to be determined by agreement between Russia, France, and England.

As a general rule the contracting Powers undertake mutually to recognise the confessions and privileges existing in the territories now acquired by them which have existed before the war.

They agree to assume such portions of the Ottoman Debt as corresponds to their respective acquisitions.

ALSACE-LORRAINE

Alsace-Lorraine, which is to be returned to its "rightful owners," France, will be seen from the following historical facts to have had a varied history:—

"Lorraine (Lotharingia) became a kingdom under Lothaire 855; divided at his death in 869, part of it became a duchy. From the first hereditary Duke Gerard, nominated by Emperor Henry III. in 1048, descended the house of Lorraine, then of Tuscany. Lorraine was given to the dethroned King of Poland, Stanislaus I., for life and at his death in 1766 united to France. In 1871 about the fifth part of the province annexed to Germany."

"Alsace (Elsass), formerly part of kingdom of Austrasia. Incorporated with German Empire in tenth century. A portion handed over to France in 1648, and the whole in 1697. In 1871 annexed to Germany; Alsatians allowed to choose their nationality in 1872, and many returned to France."

(Extract from Hadyn's Dictionary).

The provinces have passed from ruler to ruler many times. Lorraine has been held by French, German, Italian, and Polish masters. Did the toiling peasants ever find that their lot was changed with the nationality of their masters? As they were ignored in the past, treated as mere attributes of the lands coveted by the Lords of the Earth, so they are ignored by the Governments and rulers of to-day. The peace formula of the Russian Revolutionaries would free the peoples from their subjection; it would give the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine the right to decide their own destiny—to vote as to whether they desire to enter into the citizenship of France or of Germany, or to establish an independent self-governing republic.

WELL DONE C.O.s.

A C.O. writes that he and other C.O.s in Wandsworth intend to use the occasion of the dismissal of the appeal of A. H. de Stamier (condemned to death for the murder of Captain Tighe) to protest against capital punishment.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

January 29th.—Since one party to the secret treaty with Italy had published the text of that treaty, Mr. King (L.) asked whether this treaty were still binding. Lord R. Cecil waived the point by answering that "it would not be right for me to answer questions about a treaty which is described in the question as secret"!! Further, in reply to Mr. Ponsonby (L.) and Mr. Trevelyan (L.) Lord Robert stated that "any treaty we enter into is binding upon us . . . . . it is not the habit of the British Government to repudiate treaties"!! We non-parliamentarians feel bewildered with these statements from the Foreign Office on the one hand, and the no-annexation policy laid down by the Prime Minister on the other. We ask, who is right?

MONEY NO OBJECT.

Mr. Bonar Law admitted that the cost of the first three months' "mission" in the U.S.A. was £11,000; salaries and office accommodation cost about £12,500 per annum!!

* * * *

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Labour stated, we are glad to note that where "women are employed on men's work" any alteration in the piece prices for men will apply to women. We want, however, all women piece-workers to receive the bonus.

NATIONAL EXPENDITURE.

On behalf of the Committee on National Expenditure, Mr. Herbert Samuel (L.) made a lengthy statement. He pointed out that at the end of the twenty-three years during which the Napoleonic Wars lasted a sum of £621,000,000 was added to the National Debt; during the present War a sum greater than that is added to the National Debt every four months!! Is it any wonder that he referred to economies as seeming to be "merely bailing out water with a sieve"? Mr. Samuel instanced the huge staffs of the new departments as one of the causes of unnecessary expenditure. Sir Joseph Walton illustrated the wastage in Government offices by stating that the Army Pay Department before the War consisted of 600 employees, now there are 26,000; if the staff had been increased in proportion to the Army the number should be 12,000. All speakers seemed agreed that the Ministry of Munitions was the most lavish spender. Mr. Bonar Law devoted the time at his disposal to lauding the Treasury and defending himself for having stated to a private deputation that it might be necessary to tax capital. Evidently those who are financing the war with a view to a substantial return, have been scared at the possibility of not having made good investments after all.

ITALIAN TREATIES.

January 30th.—Mr. King (L.) returned to the attack on the question of the secret treaty with Italy. Mr. Balfour went so far as to refuse to state whether a secret treaty existed or not. Is this what Mr. Balfour calls democratic rule?

FOOD DISTRIBUTION.

Mr. Trevelyan (L.) pointed out that large numbers of men are threatening stoppage of work so that they can stand in the queues instead of the wives and children. Mr. Clynes again talked about the drastic changes which were being made, and of the necessity of being patient until they came into operation. It looks as though Mr. Clynes thought the food problem only came into being with the queues! Organisation in 1914 would have possibly prevented the present crisis. Mr. Outhwaite (L.) suggested that if the whole country were as badly supplied with food as East London, "the sooner the Government closed up the War the better." But Mr. Clynes was sure the poor in East London would not think like that!! We invite him to come, see and hear for himself, then perhaps he will be wiser.

CENSORED LEAFLETS.

January 31st.—Sir George Cave would give no undertaking to Mr. Lees-Smith (L.) that when leaflets are destroyed the owners would be informed of the fact.

LABOUR MANIFESTO.

Challenged by Mr. Outhwaite (L.) to withdraw the D.O.R.A. Regulation demanding submission of leaflets, etc., to his department, Sir G. Cave said he had "no intention of advising its withdrawal." But Mr. Outhwaite urged that the Labour Manifesto had been published in defiance of the Regulation, and that it would therefore seem that only the weak were to come under the Order. Sir G. Cave, however, felt sure that in the instance of Labour it was through "inadvertance" that a breach of the Regulation was caused. What hypocrisy!!

LIBERTY (?)

Mr. Lees-Smith (L.) drew attention to the case of Harold Aidelberg, a Roumanian, and Secretary of the Stepney "Herald" League, who has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment for being a few days' late in registering at his new address. It was stated at the trial that Aidelberg was a Socialist, this drew from the Magistrate the remark: "This makes the offence very serious!" Mr. Smith argued that such a heavy sentence was mere political persecution. But Sir G. Cave said the offence was a breach of the Aliens Order, and therefore a "serious offence." The offender is only eighteen and a half, and had his home raided and papers, etc., confiscated, in addition to his sentence. Where is that Liberty we prate of now?

* * * *

Mr. Houston (U.) stated that telephone operators are employed by their superiors during working hours in waiting in queues for margarine, bacon, etc. Mr. Illingworth was quite in ignorance of this fact. Perhaps now that queues are interfering with the public service, something may be done.

"MURDER MOST FOUL."

That pamphlet entitled "Murder Most Foul" has been circulated by the War Aims Committee, Captain Guest admitted to Mr. Jowett (Lab.). The author is "a distinguished American clergyman!"

COVENTRY LEAFLETS MYSTERY.

Mr. Macpherson cleared up the matter about which so many rumours have been circulated. He stated that the leaflets dropped at Coventry from an aeroplane were paid for by an officer serving in London, also member of the House. The authorities of the Royal Flying Corps authorised the use of Government 'planes for the purpose; but "no special flights were made," it was only during practice hours! When will this Government ingenuity to make plausible excuses cease?

EVICTION OF SOLDIER'S FAMILY!

February 1st.—Mr. Watt (L.) drew the attention of the House to the eviction in November last of three sisters named Milliken, whose three brothers were serving on the various fronts. Mr. Macpherson said that his department did deprecate this action; but that it was a matter for the War Cabinet to look into. Well, we hope it will.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

On January 30th and 31st, and February 1st the House debated the Lords Amendments. A few minor amendments were passed without opposition. On the proposal to bring P.R. back by inserting in Clause 18 a new subsection to the effect: (1) "In a constituency returning not less than three nor more than five Members of Parliament, any contested election of the full number of members shall be according to the principle of proportional representation, each elector having one transferable vote as defined by this Act," all the supporters and enemies of Proportional Representation used their powers of oratory on this amendment, which was defeated by 110 votes. As we go to press we learn that the Lords do not agree that P.R. should be struck out of the Bill. The Commons refuse to accept even a limited P.R. We shall not be surprised to learn that a deadlock will ensue.

The question of the alternative vote was also debated at length, the House showing its disapproval of the Lords' action in striking it out of the Bill by defeating it by 8 votes!

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

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QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

VERSAILLES

Instead of a joint declaration of "War aims," as was expected, the diplomats at Versailles have decided on "complete unity of military action." The War is to go on until "Germany shows a better temper" than has been displayed by the Brest-Litovsk declarations! What is expected of the enemy is not stated; no answer except that "it is not in the public interest" was given to Mr. Asquith on the subject in the House of Commons. Is the country to be further ruined by a handful of men who neither consult the people they profess to represent, nor inform them of the reasons of their autocratic decisions? Since these supermen have tried to gain a "victory" by the sword for almost four years and failed, we must insist that *now* the people should be consulted as to their wishes. We do not doubt their answer!

THE LAST HOPE!

If ever there was any hope of the "packed" convention in Dublin settling the "Irish Problem" to the satisfaction of the Irish people, now that has gone. Mr. George Russell (Æ) has resigned, as did his colleague Mr. Lysaght. Both these men have the real interests of Ireland at heart. Their resignation points that the Convention was too much for them. Sinn Feiners, the field is clear for you now!

ARMAGH ELECTION

The coalition of Nationalists and Orangemen returned Mr. Donnelly (Nationalist) at Armagh, the Sinn Fein candidate receiving 1,299 votes, whilst the Nationalist got 2,316. It is spoken of as a "Sinn Fein defeat." Is it not rather a nationalist defeat? Had not Mr. Donnelly's supporters to join hands with the followers of Sir Edward Carson in order to gain the day? Surely there will be a heavy price to pay for this help!

MRS. BAINES

In Australia a "One Woman, one Recruit League" has been started. Mrs. Baines, once so well-known as a British militant Suffragette, has been imprisoned for insulting one of its members.

LORD LANSDOWNE'S SPEECH

Lord Lansdowne's way is not our way; but we compliment him on having made another effort to bring some truth to light. But why didn't he stand up to Lloyd George and tell him what he really thinks of him?

THE TRIAL OF MRS. BOUVIER

As we reported last week, Mrs. Bouvier, W.S.F., was arrested in Hyde Park on Sunday, January 27th, on the charge of using "insulting language and behaviour." The adjourned case was heard at Marlborough Street Police Court on Monday, February 4th. Inspector Duncan, who arrested Mrs. Bouvier, "to protect her from the hostile crowd," stated that it was the "arrogant manner and foreign accent" of the speaker that upset the crowd! He made great capital out of a mis-statement of what Mrs. Bouvier said about tubercular meat. She had drawn a parallel between air-raid casualties and the fatalities which **might** have been caused by the sale of a large quantity of meat about to be sold at Smithfield, but which was discovered to be diseased just in time to stop the sale.

The evidence on behalf of Mrs. Bouvier given by Mr. Penfold flatly contradicted all said by the inspector. He said he had never seen Mrs. Bouvier until that Sunday; the reason he followed her to the police station from the Park was because he wanted to see fair play. Her arrest was a surprise, because the crowd was with her; the only exclamations of protest raised were against those responsible for importing bad meat for human consumption. Mr. Penfold said his surprise was the greater when he saw that Inspector Duncan was responsible for this uncalled-for arrest. Mrs. Bouvier had been greeted with cheers when she went on the platform, and during the few minutes she was allowed to speak "the crowd was perfectly manageable; and if I were chairman, I could have continued the meeting with Mrs. Bouvier for hours." Miss Buckley gave equally favourable evidence, and Mrs. Carter, from Bow, gave natural and unbiassed corroboration in favour of Mrs. Bouvier. She lent colour to her evidence by her account of the behaviour of a Belgian lady in the crowd who objected because Mrs. Bouvier referred to the sufferings of Poland, saying "the crowd called to her to 'hold her noise' and 'let the speaker speak.'"

The magistrate, Mr. Denman, in summing up the case, regretted that Mrs. Bouvier had already been bound over, because now the judgment must take the form of a fine, viz., £2 and £2 2s. costs. He said he was sure that Mrs. Bouvier "does what she thinks right in the interests of humanity," but it was, in his opinion, unwise to speak and act as she was doing. "What would people in Petrograd do if an English woman were to behave in a similar manner?" he asked.

Mrs. Bouvier, who conducted her own case, said, after judgment had been passed, that she knew her arrest was due to the fact that she worked for an organisation advocating Peace. As for the reception an English woman would receive in Petrograd now if she spoke in favour of Peace by negotiation, Mrs. Bouvier said that she would be heartily welcomed!

Many W.S.F. members and supporters were present and created a friendly atmosphere. There was a notable change in temper of the bench, which avoided denouncing Mrs. Bouvier as a "pacifist," and carefully turned a deaf ear to any remark made either by her or the witnesses on the subject of Peace.

JOHN SYME

Our congratulations on his steadfast courage and sympathy with him and his family in the hard times they are facing are sent to Ex-Inspector John Syme. John Syme has undertaken a difficult and unpopular task in endeavouring to organise the police to free them from bureaucratic tyranny and to make light penetrate the dark places of the police administration.

HORSE FLESH

Some people say: "Why not eat horseflesh? Why is it worse to eat horseflesh than beef?" The answer is that beef is, or should be, reared cleanly and fed cleanly for killing purposes, whilst horses are worked till they are worn out and diseased before they are killed. Horseflesh is therefore more likely than beef to transmit disease to those who eat it. And what monstrously high prices are being charged for horseflesh: from 8d. to 1s. 2d. per lb.; that is more than the price of beef before the War! We advise our readers to take to a vegetarian diet rather than resort to eating horseflesh; indeed, we imagine that if they take to vegetarianism in War time they will never return to meat.

SOLIDARITY

The Australian Socialist reports that the Chinese hawkers in Melbourne refuse to sell vegetables to the strike breakers.

THE GREAT FOOD PROBLEM - - By W. F. Watson.

It is both encouraging and inspiring to find that at long last the people are revolting against the criminal profiteering and unequal distribution of foodstuffs. Right throughout the country there is a vast wave of feeling expressing itself in a united demand that the people themselves shall control the whole of the foodstuffs, from source to supply. The most encouraging feature of all is that the women are taking a very prominent part in the agitation. And, after all, that is as it should be. It is our wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters who have to make the money go as far as possible; it is they who have to stand hour after hour in snow and slush waiting for food, whilst their homes and children are neglected. It is they who are beginning to realise that whilst the working class has to fight for the barest necessities, those people who continually insult the working class by urging them to "eat less bread," etc., are able to get the best of everything with a minimum of trouble. Small wonder is it, then, that the working women are revolting. And I would here say that as with all other social and economic problems, so with the food problem; they will never be adequately dealt with without the active co-operation of the women. Too long has woman been an unwilling parasite on the men. The men and women are beginning to realise that man and woman must be comrades, fighting shoulder to shoulder for the emancipation of the working class.

In dealing with food problems there are three fundamental points to be borne in mind. Firstly, there is undoubtedly a shortage of foodstuffs. We cannot take thousands of workers from the necessary work of food production and make them consumers only without the food supply suffering. The U-boats are preventing foreign supplies reaching this country.

What we must aim at is that *all* foodstuffs must be equitably distributed amongst rich and poor alike regardless of social position. If pheasants, partridges, and other poultry are plentiful and meat scarce, then the poor should have an equal right with the rich to a share of the substitutes. The second point is that the question of food supply and distribution is not merely a War problem. Before the War the majority of workers were unable to secure sufficient food owing to the profiteering element, and after the War for a considerable period there will be a shortage of food. Therefore we must not rest content until the element of profit is eliminated from the people's food for *all* time. Thirdly, we must recognise the futility of expecting the Government to tackle the problem effectively. How can we expect Lloyd George, with a full knowledge of his past career, to make it his business to ensure an adequate supply of foodstuffs to the people? And how can we reasonably expect Rhondda, one time D. A. Thomas, the mining magnate, who acquiesced in the punishment of the South Wales miners when they struck for decent wages, to be sincere in his work as Food Controller? Even though they had the best intentions in the world, these people are members of the profiteering class and the class instinct is so powerful in them that they will actively resist all attempts to eliminate profit. Unless profit is eliminated there can be no equitable distribution of the people's food.

The question, then, is—How are we to transfer the whole food supply and its distribution from the Government to the workers? At a largely attended conference representing Co-operative Societies, Trades Unions, Food Vigilance Committees, Trades Councils, and other workers' organisations, convened by the London District A.S.E. Vigilance Committee, and held at the Battersea Town Hall on January 12th and 13th, the following resolution was adopted, with very few dissentients:—

That this National Conference, recognising the failure of the governing class to control and equitably distribute food supplies, demands on behalf of the whole of the people the complete control of all foodstuffs and other necessaries of life. As a means to that end it is hereby resolved that this Conference at once elects a committee to proceed with the formation of a representative National Committee, drawn from the Co-operative and Labour movements, to act as the National Food Control Committee.

It is also resolved that we immediately acquaint the Government, by deputation to the Prime Minister (date to be fixed by the Conference), that we demand that the whole supply and distribution of foodstuffs shall be handed over to this National Committee, who shall regulate same from source to supply and organise distribution through the medium of the Co-operative Societies and other distributive agencies without the element of profit.

It is further resolved that we give the Government fourteen days from date of interview to accede to our demand, upon termination of which, should they fail, we recommend a National Cessation of Work. In the event of the Prime Minister failing to concede an interview within seven days of request being made, the time-limit specified in the resolution comes into operation automatically.

The Selection Committee is now very busy getting together a representative body of workers to act as the National Food Control Committee. When this is completed the deputation will demand of the Prime Minister that the food supply be handed over, and fourteen days will be allowed him to make up his mind. Should he refuse, then we are going to call upon the workers of the country to apply the "down tools" policy until he accedes to our demand.

That there will be difficulties to overcome when we have secured control cannot be doubted. We are asked, for instance, how we propose to organise the production and transport of foodstuffs from other countries. To which we reply that the Food Control Committee will purchase the foodstuffs in the same way as the profiteers do now, and will arrange for their transportation through the Seamen's and Firemen's Union and the British Seafarers' Union. The inland transport could be dealt with in a like manner through the various Transport Workers' Unions. It is contended by some that to defeat our aims the capitalist class will hold up foreign and colonial supplies, but this is hardly likely, since such action would react upon themselves, and public opinion would be too strong for them. Then there is the problem of conveying the food to the consumer. No new machinery will be necessary. It is proposed to make use of the Co-operative Societies, the Trade Unions, and the multiple shops. "The multiple shops?" I can hear people asking in amazement; "why they belong to the big trusts." Ah, yes! they do now. But must they always belong to the unscrupulous profiteers? And are not the assistants therein mostly members of the Shop Assistants' Union? Then what is to prevent the National Food Control Committee taking over these shops, and the shop assistants from distributing the food under the direction of that Committee?

"But," says the sceptic whose vision refuses to stray beyond a capitalist system, "look at the chaos that must result! The people will be worse off than ever! Look at Russia, for instance." To my mind this is all nonsense. There may be some temporary dislocation, but nothing compared with what we have already endured under a capitalist régime.

We must remember that the time-serving, unscrupulous politicians have long since lost the confidence and respect of the people. The National Food Control Committee, composed, as it will be, of direct representatives of the workers, will command both confidence and respect, and mutual co-operation will undoubtedly result.

The little Welshman once told a deputation of workers to be audacious in their demands (after the war). We cannot afford to wait till then; let us be audacious here and now.

What is required is a strong band of capable men and women with administrative and executive capacity. Men and women with vision, courage and determination who will refuse to be led astray by the Pecksniffian oratory of political pimps. Men and women who are prepared to sacrifice everything if necessary in the workers' cause. That we have such men and women in the movement I am convinced. Will they come forward? Have they the moral courage of the Bolsheviks to embark on the Great Adventure? I believe they will. Our wives and children are calling to them in their agony. They cannot, nay, they dare not, refuse to respond.

WHATS' ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY, 8th.
Great Push for Peace, Socialism and Votes for All in Walthamstow. Meet 3 p.m., near booking office of St. James' Street Station. Speakers: Mrs. Walker and others.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9th.
Armagh Road, Bow, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
Rathbone Street, Canning Town, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 10th.
Trafalgar Square, 3.30 p.m., Food Demonstration.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15th.
Hoxton, 11 a.m., Miss Price.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16th.
Great Push in Hammersmith.

INDOOR

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY, 8th.
William Morris Hall, Somers Road, Walthamstow, 7 p.m., Mrs. Davies, Mrs. Sizer, Miss J. Stephen, Mrs. Walker. Admission free. Chair: Mrs. Bouvier.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9th.
Bow Women's Hall, 7.30 p.m., Concert and Dance.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 10th.
Bow Women's Hall, 7 p.m., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. Mr. John Arnall, "Turkey and Peace." Chair: Mr. L. Hogben. Admission 1d.
Hansler Hall, Hansler Road, Dulwich, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13th.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m. Speakers' Class. Instructor, Mr. L. Hogben.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14th.
28b Lincoln's Inn Field, 7.30 p.m., Rev. R. W. Sorensen, "Our New War"; Miss N. Smyth, "The Present Outlook."

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18th.
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m., General Meeting, London Section.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Kingsley Hall, Bow, Sunday, 10th, 8.15 p.m. Speaker: Miss Lesley Griffiths, "Faith or Fatalism."

FEDERATION NOTES

CENTRAL.

In spite of raids and rumours of raids, the weekly meeting was as usual. The Rev. J. T. Sadler spoke on "The Meaning of the State," showing us that while the keynote of the State is "wealth by force," the new order must be built on "wealth by love." A long and interesting discussion followed.

We are expecting a large audience on February 14th, to hear the Rev. R. W. Sorensen on "Our New War."

WHITECHAPEL.

Mr. Moscovitch, 39 Fairclough Street, Commercial Road, Whitechapel, who is forming a branch, would be very glad to have the use of a room for branch meetings, also offers of assistance from members in the neighbourhood.

THE WORKERS' CHOIR.

Rehearsals for the choir will be held every Thursday at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, under the direction of Mr. Williams Vicary. Men and women are cordially invited to join.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

Branches will be allowed to send in resolutions for the agenda and nominations for the Committee and Executive up to February 23rd, as there has been considerable delay in sending out the notices, etc.

BULWELL.

The first annual meeting of the above Society was held last week. There was a good attendance of members. The following officials were elected:—Chairman, Mr. E. Croft; Vice-Chairman, Miss Smith; Correspondence Secretary, Mr. Forsythe, 114 Logan Street, Bulwell; Assistant Secretary, Miss E. Smith, 9 Commercial Road; Treasurer, Mrs. Pipkin, 21 Mersey Street; "Dreadnought" Secretary, Mr. E. Croft, 106 Coventry Road; delegates to Joint Labour Board, Mr. E. Croft and Mr. J. Lane; delegates to Food Control, Nurse Marshall; Entertainment Committee, Miss Draper (pianist), Mrs. Pipkin, and Miss Smith.

Mr. J. Baldwin, W.S.F., was decided on as candidate for municipal election.

Gratefully Acknowledged.

GENERAL FUND.—R. Cadbury, Esq., £25; Miss Usherwood (7s. 6d. monthly), 15s.; Mrs. Dawson, 5s.; Edmonton Workers' Union, 5s.; Dr. Scarlet Synge, 2s. 6d.

COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Walker, £2 6s. 3d.; Miss Price, 11s. 0½d.; L. S. H., 6s.

FOOD DEMONSTRATION.—London Society of Amal. Brassworkers, 10s.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—Miss D. Kershaw (card), 10s.; Mrs. Hardcastle, 2s.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—R. Cadbury, Esq., £25; Mrs. Sanger, £2; Miss M. Hood, £1; Mr. Claughton, 10s.; Mr. C. Hicks Bolton (card), 5s. 6d.; Miss Nagley (card), 5s.; Mr. Jas. Newman (card), 3s.; Mr. G. B. A. Douglas, 3s.; Mrs. Sargent-Florence (card), 2s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 2s.; Mrs. Sizer, 1s.; Mr. J. W. Hamilton, 1s.; Mrs. E. Edwards, 6d.

"DREADNOUGHT" GUARANTEE FUND.—Previously acknowledged (weekly), £2 19s. 6d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Anon (Montessori), £32 10s.; Mrs. Gibson, £2; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), £2; Misses Gulland, £1 15s.; Miss Allen-Browne, £1; Contessa Tomasi Isolani (monthly), £1; per Miss Weir (monthly), £1; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly 10s.), £1; Mrs. Hyde, 10s.; Miss E. Sykes (Montessori), 5s.; Misses Barrowman (monthly), 5s.; D. Wilkie, Esq. (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Miss M. Burgess, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Baton, 6d. COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool-room, £1 12s. 3d.; Misses J. Watts and T. Barker (Green's Yard), 10s. 2½d.; Miss Vine, 2s. 10½d.

BOW FOOD CONFERENCE

The following organisations were represented at the conference on Sunday, February 3rd, at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, to discuss the Joint Demonstration on Food in Trafalgar Square on February 10th, at 3.30:—

Poplar, Walthamstow, Camberwell, East Ham, and Chiswick Trades and Labour Councils; Bethnal Green, Hammersmith No. 1, Leicester Square, Spa Road, London City and Tottenham N.U.R.; Westminster General Workers' Union; Packing Case Makers' Union; Amalgamated Society of Toolmakers; Deptford No. 2 and Chiswick Workers' Union; Bermondsey National Federation of Women Workers; Walthamstow, South Hackney, Central Hackney, St. Pancras B.S.P.; Bermondsey and Clapham I.L.P.; Bow and Poplar W.S.F.; Peckham Women's Co-operative Guild; National Food Committee; West Central Branch N.-C.F.

The London Society of Amalgamated Brassworkers regretted their absence, owing to an important meeting of their own, but sent 10s. towards expenses. More donations are required to advertise the Demonstration, and pay for bands, etc. Other societies who intend to come with their banners were also unavoidably absent from the Conference.

The following resolution was discussed, and adopted unanimously:—

(1) The complete socialisation of the food supply, with the entire elimination of private profit in food, whether imported or home product.

(2) Production, large scale manufacture and preparation of food and distribution to be managed by Workers' Committees, appointed by the Trades Union Congress and the local Trades Council; half these committees to be composed of women.

(3) Equal rationing whilst the food scarcity continues, to be organised by the Workers' Committees on a practical and scientific basis, so that, for instance, the butter ration shall include all substitutes, and the bread ration shall cover and include all breadstuffs, biscuits, buns, etc.

(4) Food to be supplied free, and paid for in the rates, in order that the poor may not suffer more than the well-to-do.

All who are in favour of these resolutions should come to Trafalgar Square, and, if possible, walk in a procession. The Food question affects everyone. Let this be the biggest Demonstration ever held!

GERMANY AND THE SPREAD OF THE PEOPLES' REVOLUTION

(continued from page 940).

is time that the British workers should take their part! We must not place our faith in the leaders who have misled us, who still ask us to follow the old subservient patient path.

How busily the politicians strive to confuse the issues! Mr. Henderson writes at length on the question as to whether the Government shall concede to the Engineers a separate conference on the comb-out; he advises the Government to give way. Mr. Henderson would be better employed in urging the Government to drop its "man-power" schemes altogether and to join the Brest negotiations in support of Russia.

"A.G.G." in the "Daily News" is advocating the creation of a "Labour" Government, and has obligingly indicated who the so-called Labour Ministers should be. He has chosen Mr. Henderson, Mr. J. H. Thomas, Mr. W. C. Anderson, Mr. Smillie, Mr. Clynes, Mr. Pringle, Mr. Hogge, Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, Mr. Waldorf Astor, and Mr. Fisher, the present Minister for Education! "It would be the business of such a Government," says "A.G.G.," "to open up formal negotiations with the democracies of the enemy countries" to save the world from famine.

And why, Mr. Henderson, and all you others who tell the workers to be quiet and patient, does "A.G.G.," a Liberal politician, urge this? Is it because Mr. Barnes and Mr. Hodge have remained in this capitalist War Government? Is it because Mr. Henderson practises the art of diplomacy? No, it is because the workers in the factories are becoming restive; because the rank and file movement grows strong and threatens to adopt the "down tools" policy, and because the women are getting angry in the queues!

If something is not done, thinks "A.G.G.," even this slow old Britain may find itself taking a plunge into Socialism!

But it is our business to speed the day!

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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JOIN THE W.S.F. AND HELP TO GET PEACE, SOCIALISM, AND VOTES FOR ALL.

PUBLIC MEETING

BOW WOMEN'S HALL, 400 Old Ford Rd., Bow, E.3

Sunday, February 10th, 7.30 p.m.

Speakers: Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST;
Mr. JOHN ARNALL, "Turkey and Peace."

Chair: Mr. HOGBEN - - Admission—One Penny

WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

Concert & Dance — In aid of Funds. — 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3

To-day, Saturday, February 9th, 7—10-30 p.m.

Dances by JOAN LAWSON. Songs by IRENE BOUVIER.
Stories by Mr. LAWSON.
Music: M. GRISHIN: WILLIAMS VICARY and others

Admission—8d., including Tax. - - - Refreshments

KINGSLEY HALL, BOW, E.

Third Anniversary,

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14th, at 8 p.m.

GEORGE LANSBURY in the Chair.

Speeches by MURIEL LESTER, JOHN SCURR, and representatives of Adult Schools and Club.
Music.

POPLAR SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL,
20 RAILWAY STREET, POPLAR.

The superintendent would be glad to hear from anyone who is willing to teach the children songs and dances; and also from those prepared to give short addresses on Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

Printed by the National Labour Press Ltd., 8 & 9 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., E.C.4 and Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, at their Offices 400 Old Ford Rd. Bow, E. Printed by T.U. labour in all departments (48 hour week), on Trade Union Made Paper.

Food and the Consumers' Council

We expect no more from the Consumers' Council than from the Committee appointed to inquire into the food problem when Mr. Runciman was at the Board of Trade. Like Mr. Runciman's Committee, of which Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., was a member, the Consumers' Council is a purely advisory body, without any administrative powers. Mr. Clynes has promised the Consumers' Council access to the facts and figures upon which the Ministry has based its policy. Mr. Runciman's Committee was also supposed to have full access to the information at the disposal of the Board of Trade. But of what use is information to those who are content either to spend their time in making recommendations, which are never carried into effect, or who waste their ingenuity in suggesting mere palliatives, which, as they are painfully aware, fail to go to the root of the matter, because such palliatives alone are acceptable to the powers that be? The Consumers' Council might become an exceedingly useful body if it would make itself a perpetual thorn in the flesh of the Food Ministry, the Government, and the capitalists; if its members would use the information placed at their disposal for propaganda purposes, for stirring up agitation in the country, and to aid the Council in creating a thoroughgoing and businesslike scheme for dealing with the food supply. Will the Consumers' Council perform the useful function we have indicated? We fear not. Unfortunately, it is not representative of the Rank and File Movement, in which the hope of the future lies. At its first meeting the Council, instead of denouncing the world-wide profiteering under which the people are suffering, smugly and, so the "Daily News" reports, unanimously passed a resolution thanking the people of the U.S.A. for eating less in order to spare more food for the peoples of the Allies. No! Lord Rhondda's Consumers' Council will not do! What is required is complete control of the food supply by the workers' organisations through delegates appointed by themselves.

The farmers, who were addressed by Lord Rhondda and Mr. Prothero, were disappointed because they were allowed no opportunity to put their views. We agree that the farmers are able to speak with an expert knowledge not possessed by Mr. Prothero. But the workers on the land know as much about farming as the farmers, and the farm labourers' representatives can supply expert advice untainted by the profiteering. Only the workers can be trusted to administer the food supply equally, and, as the workers are in the majority, control by the workers is majority rule.

JOINT DEMONSTRATION ON FOOD

TRAFALGAR SQUARE, SUNDAY, FEB. 10, at 3-30 p.m.

To DEMAND—The Control of the Food Supply by the Workers;
Abolition of Private Profit in Food;
Equal Rationing and Distribution of Food.

PROCESSIONS from North, South, East and West.

North London.—St. Pancras Arches, 2 p.m.
South London.—Dun Cow, Old Kent Road, 2 p.m.
East London.—Dock Gates, Poplar, 1.15 p.m.; Roman Road, Bow, 12.45 p.m.; Mile End Waste, 1.30 p.m.; Gardiner's Corner, 2.15 p.m.
West London.—Shepherd's Bush Empire, 2 p.m.

COME IN YOUR THOUSANDS!

Applications for handbills and posters to be sent to—The Workers' Suffrage Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

Speakers: J. G. Beale, N.U.R.; Mrs. Butler, B.S.P.; Councillor Carter, T. & L.C.; W. Carter, N.U.R.; T. Foot, N.U.R.; E. J. Holder, T. & L.C.; Mrs. Mason, Railway Women's Guild; Miss Manicom, Workers' Union; Mr. Mackinlay, B.S.P.; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, W.S.F.; Miss Price, W.S.F.; Miss P. Rickards, S.W.S.P.U.; Miss Stephen, I.L.P.; Mrs. Swales, Women's Co-op. Guild; Mrs. Walker, W.S.F.; W. F. Watson, A.S.E.; E. C. Fairchild, B.S.P.; Ben Smith, L.P.U. of L.V.W.; Louis A. Hill; and others.